1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

dained as man's food. But this privilege has been granted by themselves and must not be abused. The slightest waste or cruelty will cause them not only to withdraw the food supply but also to punish man himself by disease. The way to cure disease is to please the animals by virtuous living and thus acquire power to overcome the evils they send. The cycle is complete. The connection of practical economy with religious belief has been worked out by this frugal people as far as by anyone.

Not only the animals are living powers. Every part of the natural environment is also personified and must be treated with circumspection and respect. The individual, when going about his duties, should never attack nature roughly, but explain his need and ask for help. "I have come to get clay," says the woman who is digging material for her pots, "be favorable to me." The hunter, bending over a dead deer, apologizes: "I have killed you because I need food. Do not be angry." The planter, taking a handful of corn kernels from his pouch, adjures them: "I am dropping you into the earth. Now ripen well." It is a religion whose every act is focused upon the forces of nature, constraining them to help man or, at least, not to hinder him in his arduous tasks.

Those forces are not either good or evil. The Papago do not explain the supernatural world as a dualism, inhabited by both kindly and maleficent spirits. Rather, it is permeated by power which is helpful or destructive according to the medium through which it passes. A good being, human or supernatural, will use it for good; a bad one for evil. And the same being will change from time to time. Thus I'itoi and Earthmaker are not opposed forces, like God and the devil, but both in turn benefit man; then both mishandle their power and harm him. So the animal guardian spirits can turn unfriendly and send diseases. So the shaman can change from a healer to a sorcerer.

The fear of power is an underlying motive in Papago religion quite as much as the reverence for it. A man who has obtained power through vision or ceremony is regarded with apprehension as well as respect. "He might forget to take care of his fetish, and then he could make us all sick." The shaman, greatest recipient of power, is also the only villager who can be killed with impunity.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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EMOTIONAL PATTERNS OF PAPAGO CHILDREN

We cannot very well assume that the crudest possible process of thought which may be the source of belief in immanent justice in earliest childhood—i.e., the simple egocentric generalization of a self-experienced cause and effect mechanism—also operates in adolescent Papago children. The results seem rather to confirm the impression that Papago children's thoughts and possibly also their behavior are to a very high degree influenced by a belief in guidance and retribution through supernatural forces or in magical interdependence of the self and the surrounding world. Though Papago believe that the activity of supernatural forces is ultimately unpredictable, they also think that human behavior may provoke them to anger and vengeance. From this test we do not know to what extent the force of guidance and retribution may be merged in these children's minds with the Christian concept of God who rewards the just and punishes the unjust.

TABLE 12

BELIEF IN "ANIMISM" REVEALED BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS (PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES INDICATING BELIEF)*

	Age		
Group	6–8†	9–11	12–18
Western Papago	71	92	65
Eastern Papago	74	57	44

* For source of data see Table 11.
† For size of groups see Table 11.

In the test story the accident happens by means of an ax which slips, cutting a boy's foot. In modern white society young children show to a high degree a belief that inanimate objects are alive, acting and reacting like animate beings, particularly like the child himself. This belief in "animism" was observed to decrease progressively with age among white children, in line with their decreasing belief in immanent justice. Papago children's reactions reveal at least a tendency to agree with those of white children in regard to animism (see Table 12).

The results obtained from Papago children are interesting not so much for the decrease in animistic belief with advancing age as for the statistically less pronounced drop found in the western districts. Belief in animism may be assumed to vary with the objects concerned: where, for instance, an ax is clearly inanimate, a celestial body may be considered alive. In this respect the decrease in animistic responses to the particular story used in this study cannot convey a clear, conclusive picture about possible animistic beliefs among Papago children, especially since in their culture the supernatural is so widely believed to act in the form of and through animals. On the other hand, the compara-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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774

tively high percentage of adolescent western Papago children who attribute life to the ax seems to indicate that a generalized form of animism is a part of Papago culture but may be modified in the eastern area through influences of modern white culture.

On the whole, the findings of this test give the impression that interactions between the self and supernatural forces occupy a larger sphere in Papago children's minds than in those of white children. Probably the limits of this sphere are flexible and may even be constantly changing in the same individual. This was exemplified by the case of a highly acculturated, intelligent, normal Papago adult who, falling ill, interpreted the sickness as a punishment inflicted by God, as a symptom of having been given medicine power by supernatural forces, and as gastroenteritis.

In the same manner the life of Papago children and their behavior may be influenced, sometimes continuously, sometimes occasionally, by the omen, warning, reward, or punishment into which any ordinary event may change. As subconscious desires and guilt feelings projected into the supernatural, the belief in immanent justice and also in animism may function as a vaguely defined religious conscience which, whenever usual emotional and moral standards fail, may at any moment emerge and change the course of life.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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231 good condition; the young men were not particularly accommodating, as their interest seemed to be centred in the corral, where they were breaking in horses, separating cattle, etc. These natives had little to sell me beyond
285 a fine basket used for harvesting sahuaro fruit. This kind of basket, which now is becoming rare, is of large
[482] size, water-tight, and is carried on the head. Its decora-
[632] tive designs sometimes represent the sahuaro cactus.

224 I visited Santiago, an old hunter, who, according to reports, used to be able to overtake deer, on the run, in half a day, and then shoot them with bow and arrow. In the hot weather these animals are not inclined to run long, as their feet become sore. Santiago is still very agile and quick in his movements and every day he goes out shooting quail, cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and pigeons.
411 His bow, which I secured, is made from that beautiful greenish blue bush of the desert called *condalia*. It is strengthened by an ox-tail hide pulled over it. The bow string is made from the ligaments of the back of the neck of the same animal. Arrows are made from the *amole* (yucca) flower stalk, the point being of cat-claw, tied by deer sinew.

● 774 He was also willing to be photographed. He had been to Tucson and there had gone through the experience of the camera, so he had no objection but would expect some gratuity. I took three or four snapshots with my kodak, and he asked fifty cents, which I gave him, but he demanded fifty cents for each exposure, in which I could hardly humor him. The Papagoes all have a great disinclination to being photographed, and

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look upon it as being worth a good deal of money to the one who submits to the operation. His bow and four arrows, the result of much labor, he sold for $1.25. I gave him some tobacco, candy, and raisins, and we separated great friends.

In the afternoon I arrived at a house outside of which an old medicine-man, Castillo, was singing to soothe a patient, a middle-aged, powerful looking man who was lying on his back in front of him. His singing was accompanied by the rasping of two sticks; one end of the notched one he held by his left hand, while the other end rested against an inverted basket, and he drew the rasping stick each time up toward him and then down, the opposite movement to the one which we should use to produce the same result. Near the basket on the ground an effigy of a horned lizard had been placed; it was made of wood and daubed with ochre, its head turned toward the patient.

Some Indians came up smiling as if they wished it to be understood that they did not believe in the performance, for they knew that white men laugh at this. One of them obligingly brought me a basket for sale as well as three small ancient objects, a flint arrow-point, a spinning whorl, and a small perforated stone disk, all threaded on a string. In the meantime the medicine-man, whom I watched from my horse, was finishing his treatment by placing the effigy repeatedly on the patient's leg, breathing and blowing at the same time. The man had a pain in his leg which had been caused by a horned lizard, for, according to Papago beliefs, all animals have

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four sticks, taken from the dried plant, are placed, one at each cardinal point. Sitting around the basket, people spend a night singing, while the medicine-man makes prognostications for the coming harvest. The seeds are eaten by those present, and the four sticks are given to four persons who later, when the season comes around, leave them at the foot of a sahuaro.

As soon as the Indians were rested enough after the celebrations that ended the festival, I had an interview with Chief Alvina, whom I found to be conscientious about the information he imparted, and in a charmingly sincere way not afraid of telling anything. His father, who had died two years before, had been chief before him. The Papagoes declined to tell anything about their beliefs and ancient customs, he said, but he could see no harm in letting strangers know about them. Unfortunately for me, his knowledge of those matters was not commensurate with his liberality. Furthermore, he always told his people that there was no harm in being photographed. Their fear he could not comprehend. He had himself been photographed many times, and he never inquired as to what they were going to do with his photograph.

It was a very exceptional stand he had taken; as a rule, the Papagoes have the greatest objection to the camera. They are not afraid of it, but are intensely annoyed at the photographer's efforts, because, in their opinion, part of themselves will be taken away and will always remain behind after death, causing much disturbance to the departed, who in that way will be, so

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774 to speak, only three-quarters complete in the other life. Usually the people ran away from my kodak, and it was extremely difficult to photograph them unawares, as they are very keen and in a way scent the impending danger. A young, good-looking man, of whom I asked permission to take a quick photograph, surprised me by answering in the affirmative. He entered his house to get ready for the fray, saying to his wife, "I am going to have my picture taken. I am a man and I am not afraid of seeing myself after death."

124 I kept the honest chief till late in the afternoon, when he was obliged to go to his sahuaro camp, near the south end of the Quijotoa Range. He offered to return the following day, but I thought it better to look him up later on. There was present at the interview a man who had acted as a singing shaman at the feast, Juanito by name. He owned a few head of cattle and some horses, and had been much with whites, hauling wood or doing similar work, but in spite of this he spoke no English and only a few Spanish words. It was he who in the excitement of the feast had waked me up in the middle 124 of the night. Some twelve years ago Juanito had seen 532 a Mexican make a drawing, and last year it had occurred to him to try his hand at this accomplishment, which had made a strong impression on him. Considering that this was his first and only effort with the pencil, the product was by no means discreditable. His brother posed for him on horseback for half an hour, in order that Juanito might get a clear conception of the subject he was going to draw. Strange to say, he did not draw

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After a while she appeared at a
482 distance with a big tin bucket on her head, but how much
512 more beautiful my small Rebecca would have looked carrying an earthen-ware jar of native workmanship. There are lots of pottery vessels still manufactured by the Papagoes, but the white man's implements are recognized to be more practical. I suppose the change is unavoidable, but the bucket was distinctly disappointing to my photographic sense. Before she approached my vantage point, an Indian met her who evidently asked for a drink, for he lifted the heavy bucket down, drank, and put it on her head again. When I gave her some candy after the short and unexpected ordeal, she looked frightened. She stepped along quickly, showing somewhat that she felt the weight that she had been carrying for fifteen minutes. This was six o'clock in the morning and, on rising, she had first helped her mother milk the cows.

Half an hour afterward she again passed my camp; this time she was bound for the sahuaro fields along the base of the mountains. The girl of thirteen years walked fast, carrying over one shoulder the long stick with which the fruit is brought down. Two hours later she returned with a small bucket full of the juicy fruit, on which a newly arrived guest and the rest of the family gorged themselves, while she sat near by resting. She did not look tired, however, and I saw her later helping
[177] her mother make wheat biscuits, baking them in an oven adopted from the Mexicans.

124 It was a great pleasure to be with these natural people.
533 I sang to them my newly acquired Papago song, "The
774 [i.e., Marianita, a young Papago girl. -Analyst]

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Frog Doctor," one that is used at the sahuaro festival, and ingratiated myself in their favor. The mother, always busy in doing something about the house, was engagingly free and easy in her manner. I ventured to ask if I might not photograph her; she looked disturbed, but after a while consented if I would promise not to show her picture in Tucson. She had the burden basket on her head, appropriately enough for a woman of energy and activity, but her whole being had suddenly changed, and it was impossible to make her walk and look natural. Her face was flushed, she looked embarrassed, and made a poor picture.

In spite of presents to the children, they all steadfastly declined to be photographed. However, sitting down to catalogue my lately acquired ethnological objects in the shade of a jacal, I found opportunities for snapshots while pretending to write. When Pablo took the horses and my dog to the well, I hugely enjoyed a rub down from my wash basin, as well as a change of clothing, and soon we were off again on the road.

At this rancheria I had a curious experience in the morning with a horned lizard (*phrynosoma*), rather dark in color, which my terrier pursued for eight or ten yards, when it flattened itself out and refused to run any more. The dog was watching for it to move and I stepped up. When put on its back it would immediately turn over; stooping down, I tried in vain to tease it to run again, but it remained immobile. I was just about to rise and leave when, to my great surprise, a spray of what appeared to be blood was dashed on my right hand, which was

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526 ject with their poles. Each game was played with much agility and lasted only a few minutes, the participants keenly enjoying the sport. Formerly as many as twenty women on each side took part in this game.

774 524 I ventured to take snapshots and, strange to relate, it was not resented. A boy showed me how to swing a bull-roarer, and we all had a good time. Though the 291 191 wearing apparel of these people and most of their utensils came from the white man's store, still, neither English nor Spanish was spoken, only Papago. They behaved something like natives who have not been much 609 in contact with whites, and these "poor heathen" were the nicest Papagoes I met on my whole expedition. The entertaining crowd would sometimes retire as one man, then after a while they would return again; they were curious without being troublesome. One of the humor- 361 ous sisters told me that in the rancheria of Santa Rosa, 609 which was my next goal, there was much to be seen that would interest me, if I made friends with the principal men. She also had a house there, she said, which was at our disposal, and she gave us directions as to how to find it, for Santa Rosa was a big place.

361 It is, in fact, the largest summer rancheria in the Papago tribe, and people from several clusters of winter habitations gather here to the number of about five hundred. The houses are scattered over an area of nearly two miles square. Its native name is Kuátshi (Big Peak). I entered this old-fashioned rancheria with much expectancy of gaining further knowledge of the beliefs and customs of these people. Water from the

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seemed able to live here. The prevalent vegetation was, as usual, greasewood with salt bushes now and then. Low sand dunes were visible here and there.

The Pimas of Kohatk I found to be good-tempered, affable people. The women cut their hair in front so as to have bangs and they are good-looking. These natives seem to be somewhat under Roman Catholic influence and have abandoned their native feasts. Photographing was as much detested here as elsewhere. The sight of my camera would make the children take to the woods and the old men hurriedly disappear on hands and knees into their dome-shaped huts.

I heard neither English nor Spanish spoken, but the inhabitants have adopted the frontier man's way of living, frying their meat in lard and adding quantities of it to their beans. They buy white flour and make unwholesome tortillas in boiling lard. This heavy, poorly cooked food forms their daily regime, without any variety. A small bucketful of coffee is distributed at meal-time both in the middle of the day and in the evening. They possess cattle but, like most white ranchers, are too lazy to milk the cows. The meals are appropriately served on plates of cheap crockery and cups bought in the white man's stores. The participants give audible evidence of consuming more lard than is good for them, and, were the facts known, "to be as dyspeptic as a civilized Indian" would be an adage. Think of the anomaly of leaving wholesome, natural, well-cooked dishes for a diet of lard and the cheapest kinds of canned goods.

Contrary to the universally accepted opinion, the cui-

½ [i.e., in the country between Awikam and Kohatk.—Au.]